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THE STORY OF THE CONFEDERATE TREASURE

BY OTIS ASHMORE

In the spring of 1865 the hand of Fate was rapidly drawing to its close the great drama of the War Between the States, and Destiny had already set the stage for the final scenes at Appomattox. On the quiet Sunday morning of April 2, a messenger entered St. Paul's Church in Richmond during divine service and placed a telegram in the hands of a distinguished gentleman seated well up to the front. After reading the message the gentleman, taking up his hat, quietly withdrew from the building, and directed his eager steps towards the executive offices of the Confederacy. This man was President Jefferson Davis, and the fateful message was one from General Robert E. Lee, notifying him that Richmond was no longer tenable, and that it must soon fall into the hands of the enemy. Mr. Davis hurriedly assembled the heads of departments and bureaus at his office and gave directions for the removal of the executive papers, the money in the Confederate treasury, and all his official and private family to a place of safety. He hoped that Lee could unite with Johnston and yet be able to breast the storm. Failing in this, he still indulged the forlorn hope of cutting through with a remnant of his shattered troops, and, joining those beyond the Mississippi, of re-establishing a government which he had so bravely defended for four long years. The first of these the overwhelming forces of Grant prevented, and the second was a dream as baseless as the fabric of a vision.

It is not the purpose of this article to trace in detail the dramatic events which followed thick and fast upon the collapse of the Confederacy, but to present the facts connected with the final disposition of the Confederate and private funds taken away from Richmond at the time of its evacuation by Mr. Davis.

Strange to say, these facts are not easily available, and the historians have hitherto not woven the detached and obscure material into a connected story.

It is well known that a large amount of gold, silver, bonds, etc., followed Mr. Davis on his journey southward, and for many years after the War, stories were persistent that Mr. Davis himself appropriated much of these funds to his own private use. As late as 1881 so distinguished a man as General Joseph E. Johnston in an interview in the Philadelphia Press strongly intimated that much of this treasure had been misappropriated by the Confederate officials, and cast grave reflections upon the integrity of President Davis himself. These reflections have been completely and satisfactorily answered in the *Memoir of Jefferson Davis* by his wife, and no fair minded man in the clear light of the convincing facts can accuse Mr. Davis of misappropriating a single dollar of public funds. Writers and thinkers may differ concerning the wisdom of Mr. Davis' political theories and policies, but of his honor, his courage, and his purity of character there can not be the slightest question.

But what became of this treasure? What was its value? What was its final fate? While the exact amount of the funds removed is not well known, a very close approximation may be ascertained from certain statements made in 1881 and 1882, when the interview with General Joseph E. Johnston appeared in the Philadelphia Press. Fortunately these statements were made by officials best qualified to know the facts in the case, and while they differ slightly in some of the details, it is clear that the Confederate funds were guarded and handled with great fidelity, so far as the Confederate officials were concerned, and that the greater part was used to pay off the Con-

federate soldiers to enable them to reach their homes without suffering. The remaining part was captured by the Federal soldiers.

It is necessary to bear in mind that there were two separate and distinct funds which were brought away from Richmond under the same guard and on the same train. One was the public fund of the Confederate Government, and the other the private property of certain Virginia banks whose officers decided to seek safety and protection for their funds under the same military escort provided for the Confederate funds. Both of these funds as we shall see were transported southward by rail and wagon trains to Danville, Va., Greensboro, N. C., Charlotte, N. C., Chester, Newberry, and Abbeville, S. C., and finally to Washington, Ga., where the last meeting of the Confederate cabinet was held, and where most of the Confederate treasure was disbursed.

Let us follow first the history of the Confederate funds.

From the *Recollections of a Naval Officer*, by Captain William H. Parker (1883), from a letter by General John F. Wheless published in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. X, pp. 137-141 (1882), and from various other sources, the following condensed statement of the movements of the treasure is made. Captain Parker was the commander of the naval training ship *Patrick Henry*, then stationed near Richmond, and General Wheless was at the time paymaster of this ship. Both were with the treasure train during the entire period of its movements from Richmond.

On April 2, 1865, Captain Parker was ordered by Mr. Mallory, the Secretary of the Navy, to take charge of the treasure train at Richmond with about sixty of the midshipmen under his command, and to guard it on its perilous journey. Ten of the midshipmen were left behind with Lieut. Billups to destroy the *Patrick Henry*. Among this gallant escort were many of the most promising young men of the South, a number of whom have since become distinguished. The train bearing this treasure, whose character and value are given elsewhere, together with the funds of the Virginia

banks, to be treated later, the families of Mr. Davis and of some of the Cabinet members, and the armed escort under Capt. Parker, left Richmond on the night of April 2nd, and arrived at Danville, Va., on the afternoon of April 3rd. President Davis and his cabinet were here. The treasure was not unpacked from the cars at Danville, except to make some payments for the use of the government. The treasure train remained in Danville till about April 6, when it proceeded to Greensboro, N. C., where \$39,000 in silver was, by official order, paid out per capita to the officers, soldiers, and employees of Johnston's army. General Beauregard states that his share of this fund was \$1.15. Thence the treasure was removed to Charlotte, N. C., and was deposited in the mint. This was about April 8. Here the guard was increased to about 150 men. On or about April 11, the treasure was transferred by rail to Chester, S. C. From this point southward the railroads had been destroyed by Sherman's troops, and the treasure was packed into wagons and transferred to Newberry, S. C. At this point the treasure was again transferred from the wagons to the cars and carried to Abbeville, S. C. Here Mrs. Davis and her party were left, and the treasure again being transferred to wagons, was carried to Washington, Ga., deposited in a bank vault, and a strong guard placed over it. The danger of capture by Federal troops was constantly increasing, and after deliberating one day, Captain Parker took the treasure by railroad to Augusta. The treasure was not unpacked from the cars in Augusta, but it was kept under strong guard. The conditions in Augusta proving very dangerous, Captain Parker decided to take the treasure back to Washington and Abbeville and place it in immediate charge of President Davis and his escort, which he knew was moving southward along the line of his own recent journey. The treasure left Augusta for Washington on April 23.

At Washington the treasure was once more packed into wagons and transferred back to Abbeville where it arrived

about April 28, and was stored in a warehouse on the public square. On the way back to Abbeville Captain Parker met Mrs. Davis and her party on the way southward.

About ten o'clock A. M., on May 2, Mr. Davis with his escort rode into Abbeville. He had with him several members of his cabinet, and four skeleton brigades of cavalry, viz: Duke's, Dibrell's, Ferguson's and Vaughan's. Mr. Trenholm, the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, being left ill near the Catawba river, Mr. Davis appointed Mr. Reagan, the Postmaster General, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, and into his hands Captain Parker by order of Mr. Mallory, the Secretary of the Navy, turned over the treasure which had been so carefully guarded for nearly a month. Upon the order of Mr. Reagan, Captain Parker delivered the treasure to General Basil Duke at the railroad station. By order of Mr. Mallory, and without the knowledge of Mr. Davis, Capt. Parker immediately disbanded his command, and from Abbeville he returned to Virginia.

The treasure was once more loaded upon wagons and carried back to Washington. Before leaving Abbeville, however, Captain Parker sent his paymaster, Mr. Wheless, back to Washington and obtained from the Acting Treasurer \$1,500, which he divided pro rata among his men. At the same time Mr. Wheless obtained \$300 from the treasury for Lieutenant Bradford of the Marines who was under orders for the Trans-Mississippi Department. This was paid to Lieutenant Bradford in Washington.

At Washington the final disbursement by the Confederate officials took place as shown below.

The following is an extract from a letter of Mr. Reagan to President Davis, written several years after the War (see *Memoir of Jefferson Davis*, by his wife):

"I understand from the verbal statement of Mr. Trenholm, on his turning over the business of the Treasury Department to me, that there was in the Confederate Treasury some eighty-five thousand dollars in gold coin and bullion; some thirty-five thousand dollars in silver coin; about thirty-six thousand

dollars in silver bullion, and some six or seven hundred thousand in Confederate Treasury notes; besides some sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds sterling in Liverpool acceptances.

"You will remember that the silver coin and an amount of gold coin about equal to the silver bullion, was paid out to the troops before they or the money reached Washington. There I directed an acting treasurer to turn over to two of our naval officers, whose names I do not now remember, most of the gold coin and bullion; with the understanding between us all, before you left Washington, that as soon as the excitement subsided a little, they were to take this out to Bermuda or Liverpool, and turn it over to our agents, that we might draw against it after we should get across the Mississippi river. I directed him to turn the silver bullion over to Major Moses, as it was too bulky and heavy to be managed by us in our then condition; and I saw Moses putting it in a warehouse in Washington before I left there. I also directed him to burn the Confederate notes in the presence of General Breckinridge and myself. The acceptances on Liverpool were turned over to me, and were taken by the Federal forces with my other papers when we were captured. You were not captured until several days after the disposition of all these funds, as above stated. These constitute, as I remember them, about all the material facts as to the public funds, and as to the money of the Richmond banks."

On May 4, President Davis appointed M. H. Clark, Esqr., of Clarksville, Tenn., Acting Treasurer to succeed Mr. Reagan who had requested the appointment. Mr. Clark, in an interview in the Louisville Courier Journal of January 13, 1882, speaks as follows:

"I will state as briefly as possible my connection with the Confederate Treasure.

"The President from Danville proceeded to Charlotte, N. C. We arrived at Abbeville, S. C., the morning of May 2. At Abbeville, S. C., the Treasury officers reported the train at the depot, having been a part of the time under the escort of Admiral Raphael Semmes's little naval force to protect it from

the Federal cavalry, who were raiding on a parallel line with our route, between us and the mountains. Mr. G. A. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury, having been left quite ill near the Catawba river, the President appointed the Postmaster-General, Honorable John H. Reagan, acting Secretary of the Treasury, who took charge of that Department, and placed the coin under charge of the cavalry to convoy it to Washington, Ga. The party left for Washington that night, and stopped for breakfast a few miles from Washington. At our breakfast halt, when the road was taken, Mr. Benjamin came to me and said 'good-by,' and turned off south from that point. Mr. Mallory left the party at Washington, Ga., going to a friend's in the neighborhood.

"Next morning Colonel William Preston Johnston informed me that Mr. Reagan had applied for me to act as Treasurer, to take charge of the treasury matters, and I was ordered to report to him, and doing so was handed my commission, which is now before me, and reads as follows, viz:

"Washington, Ga., May 4, 1865.

'M. H. Clark, Esq., is hereby appointed Acting Treasurer of the Confederate States, and is authorized to act as such during the absence of the Treasurer.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.'

(This was the last official signature President Davis affixed to any paper).

"Returning to my train to get some necessary articles, President Davis rode up with his party, when what I supposed were farewell words were passed between us, and my train, under charge of its Quartermaster, moved out. The Treasury train arrived shortly after President Davis' party left, and being reported at General Basil W. Duke's camp, about a mile from town, I went there with the proper authority, and he turned the whole of it over to me. Selecting the shade of a large elm tree as the 'Treasury Department,' I commenced my duties as 'Acting Treasurer, C. S.'

"Now for the specie of the Treasury.

"It must be remembered that a month or more before the evacuation of Richmond, Va., for the relief of the people, the Treasury Department had opened its Depositories and had been selling silver coin, the rate being fixed at \$60 for \$1 in coin. While at Danville, Va., the Treasury Department resumed these sales, the rate there being \$70 for \$1.

"About \$40,000 in silver, generally reported (and no doubt correctly) at \$39,000, was left at Greensborough, N. C., as a military chest for the forces there, under charge of the Treasurer, Mr. John C. Hendren; all of the balance was turned into my hands, which amounted in gold and silver coin, gold and silver bullion, to \$288,022.90. Adding the \$39,000 left at Greensborough, N. C., the Treasury contained in coin and bullion, when it left Danville, Va., \$327,022.90.

"If the Treasury at Richmond had contained \$2,500,000 in coin, certainly the brave men of our armies would never have suffered so severely from want of sufficient food and clothing as they did during the winter of 1864-65, for it had been demonstrated that gold could draw food and raiment from without the lines. With the train at Washington, Ga., however, was the specie belonging to the Virginia banks, which some time before had been ordered to be turned over to their officers, who had accompanied it out from Richmond, and had never left it; but the proper officer had not been present to make the transfer. It had never been mixed with the Treasury funds, but kept apart and distinct, and when Acting Secretary Reagan ordered the transfer to be made, no handling of specie or counting was necessary, but merely permission for the cashiers and tellers to take control of their own matters. I knew them all personally, but my impression is that it was about \$230,000. General E. P. Alexander has already given in your columns the after-fate of this fund.

"While at Washington, Ga., communications were received from General John C. Breckinridge, that payments had been promised by him to the cavalry from the train, General Breckinridge's action was ratified, and President Davis gave some other directions before he left. General Breckinridge arrived

in Washington, Ga., an hour or so after President Davis left. My recollection of this statement was that during the night of the 3rd, en route from Abbeville, S. C., to Washington, Ga., he found the cavalry and train at a halt, resting. Stopping, he learned from the officers that the men were dissatisfied at the position of affairs; that they were guarding a train which could not be carried safely much farther; the Federal cavalry were known to be in full force not a great distance off; the destination and disposition of their own force was an uncertain one; their paper money was worthless for their needs; that they might never reach Washington, Ga., with it, etc. A crowd gathered around, when General Breckinridge made them a little speech, appealing to their honor as Confederate soldiers not to violate the trust reposed in them, but to remain Southern soldiers and gentlemen; and that when they reached Washington with the train fair payments should be made.

"The men responded frankly, saying they proposed to violate no trust; they would guard it, but expressed what they considered due to them in the matter; and, as they would be paid some money in Washington, Ga., and no one could tell what would happen before they reached Washington, there was no good reason for delay.

"General Breckinridge replied that, if they wished an instant compliance with his promise, he would redeem it at once, and ordered up the train to the house at which he had stopped, and had the wagons unloaded; the quartermasters being ordered to make out their pay-rolls when a certain amount was counted out and turned over to the proper officers. The wagons were then reloaded, and the route was taken up to Washington, Ga. The boys told me they got about twenty-six dollars a piece; enough, they hoped, to take them through.

"It is this transaction which has produced so many contradictory statements from men and officers, many seeing nothing more, and regarding it as the final disbursing of the Confederate specie. Proper receipts were given and taken at

the time, and I rated it as if disbursed by myself, and covered it into the Treasury accounts by the paper of which below is a copy:

'Confederate States of America.

Washington, Ga., May 4, 1865.

'Honorable J. C. Breckinridge,

Secretary of War:

There is required for payment of troops now on the march through Georgia, the sum of one hundred and eight thousand three hundred and twenty-two dollars and ninety cents (\$108,322.90), to be placed to the credit of Major E. C. White, Quartermaster.

A. R. LAWTON,

Quartermaster-General.

(Indorsed).

'The Secretary of the Treasury will please issue as requested.

'JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,

"Secretary of War.

(Indorsed).

'M. H. Clark, Acting Treasurer, will turn over to Major E. C. White the amount named within, preserving the necessary vouchers, warrant hereafter to be drawn when settlement can be regularly made.

'JOHN H. REAGAN,

'Acting Secretary of Treasury.

(Indorsed).

'Washington, Ga., May 4, 1865.

'Received of M. H. Clark, Acting Treasurer, C. S., the sum of one hundred and eight thousand three hundred and twenty-two dollars and ninety cents (\$108,322.90) in specie, the amount called for by within paper.'

"I obtained permission from General Breckinridge and Mr. Reagan to burn a mass of currency and bonds, and burnt millions in their presence.

"Before reaching town I was halted by Major R. J. Moses, to turn over to him the specie which President Davis, before he left, had ordered to be placed at the disposal of the Commissary Department, to feed the paroled soldiers and stragglers passing through, to prevent their burdening a section already stripped of supplies. I turned over to Major Moses the wagons and silver bullion, and all of the escort except about ten men.

"In my statement of the specie assets of the Treasury being \$288,022.90, I counted the payment to Major Moses as being \$40,000.

"My last payment in Washington, Ga., was of eighty-six thousand dollars (\$86,000) in gold coin and gold bullion, to a trusted officer of the navy, taking his receipt for its transmission out of the Confederacy, to be held for the Treasury Department * * *

"Judge Reagan and myself left Washington, Ga.

"I found the party, consisting of the President and staff, and a few others, Captain Given Campbell and twelve of his men, near Sandersville, Ga. There the President heard disturbing reports from Mrs Davis' party, they fearing attempts to steal their horses by stragglers and decided next morning to take his staff and join her party for a few days. As everything on wheels was to be abandoned by him, I remained with my train, the chances of the capture of which were steadily increasing. I inquired as to the funds of the staff, and found that they had only a small amount of paper currency each, except, perhaps, Colonel F. R. Lubbock, A. D. C., who had, I believe, a little specie of his private funds. Colonel William Preston Johnston told me that the President's purse contained paper money only. I represented to them that they would need money for their supplies en route, and to buy boats in Florida, etc., and that I wished to pay over to them funds to be used for those purposes, and they consented. I paid, with the concurrence of Honorable John H. Reagan, the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, \$1,500 in gold each to Colonel John Taylor Wood, A. D. C.; Colonel William Preston Johnston, A. D. C.; Colonel F. R. Lubbock, A. D. C., and Colonel C. E.

Thorburn (a naval purchasing agent who was with the party), taking a receipt from each one; but as they were all of the same verbiage, I merely give one, as follows:

‘Sandersville, Ga., May, 6, 1865.

‘\$1,500. Received of M. H. Clark, Acting Treasurer, C. S., fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) in gold coin, the property of the Confederate States, for transmission abroad, of the safe arrival of which due notice to be given the Secretary of the Treasury.’

“I also paid to each \$10 in silver for small uses, from a little executive office fund, which I had obtained in Danville, Va., by converting my paper when the Treasurer was selling silver there. For this I took no receipts, charging it in my office accounts. I also called up Captain Given Campbell and paid him, for himself and men, \$300 in gold, taking the following receipt:

‘Received of M. H. Clark, Acting Treasurer, C. S., three hundred dollars (\$300) in gold, upon requisition of Colonel John Taylor Wood, A. D. C.

‘GIVEN CAMPBELL,
‘Captain Company B, Second Kentucky
Cavalry, William’s Brigade.’

“I then went to Judge Reagan with a bag containing thirty-five hundred dollars (\$3500) in gold, and asked that he take it in his saddle-bags as an additional fund in case of accidents or separation. He resisted, saying that he was already weighted by some \$2,000 of his own personal funds, which he had brought out from Richmond, Va., in a belt around his person; but after some argument on my part he allowed me to put it in his saddle-bags. The party then were already on horse, and ‘good-by’ was said.

“The President’s party was captured a few days afterwards, and upon their release from prison several of the party told me that everyone was robbed of all they had, except Colonel F. R. Lubbock, who, after stout resistance and great risk, retained his money, upon which the party subsisted during their long imprisonment at Fort Delaware. No gold was

found on President Davis when captured, for he had none. He could only have received it through me, and I paid him none. The Treasury train was never with President Davis' party. They found it at Abbeville, S. C., rode away and left it there, and rode away from Washington, Ga., shortly after its arrival there, while it was being turned over to me. It will have been noted that the receipts quoted are of two classes—payments to troops and clerks for their own services; but to officers of higher rank, like Generals Bragg and Breckinridge, or two members of the President's military family, they were for transmission to a distance, to be afterwards accounted for to the Treasury Department.

"The old Confederates brought nothing out of the war, save honor; for God's sake, and the precious memory of the dead, let us preserve that untarnished, and defend it from slanderous insinuations. To do my part, I have spoken.

"M. H. CLARK,

"Ex-Captain P. A. C. S., and
ex-Acting Treasurer, C. S. A."

The New York Times of January 6, 1882, contains the following letter from Walter Philbrook, Chief Teller of the Confederate States Treasury:

"To the Editor of the New York Times:

"You have published several articles relative to the Confederate specie, and, although no one believes that Mr. Davis had any dishonorable connection therewith, it may be well for public information, and for settling the question finally, that you make the following known through your widely circulated columns. I took charge of the specie at Richmond under the following order:

'Confederate States Treasurer's Office

Richmond, Va., April, 1865.

'Mr. Walter Philbrook, Chief Teller Confederate States
Treasurer.

'Sir:—As you have returned from the South you will relieve Mr. Wise, Assistant Teller, of the charge of the specie, bullion, and other property of this department, and care for it

during its removal, and afterward until relieved by competent authority. You will proceed to Danville, Va., and thence to Charlotte, N. C. At the latter place you will transfer the specie and bullion to the vaults of the Mint. In case of any emergency which may threaten its safety, you will confer with our agent there and take such action as may be deemed prudent. The routine of your office is to be maintained as far as practicable, and the clerks who accompany you are expected to subsist on their salaries. By order of

G. A. TRENHOLM.

Secretary Confederate States Treasury.

JNO. OTT, Chief Clerk.'

"I should state that I returned to Richmond, only a few days before its evacuation, from a tour of inspection. Acting under these instructions, we crossed the James River on the evening of Sunday, April, (This date I cannot give, it was the 2nd or 3rd, I think) and went to Danville. The railroad bridge, commonly called Manchester bridge, was burned soon after our train left. At Danville some of the specie was paid out under informal requisitions, the Secretary, Mr. Trenholm, and Mr. Hendren, the Treasurer, both being absent, I think. These requisitions and those that I subsequently honored were signed or countersigned by Mr. Nutt, who held a high position in the department. From Danville we went to Charlotte, N. C., and deposited the valuables in the Mint. At this place further payments were made, and here we heard that the Federals had cut the road and telegraph at Salisbury, thus closing communication with the President and his party at Danville. And right here I would say that Mr. Davis never saw this treasure from the time it left Richmond until we reached Abbeville, S. C. His wife and children and his household and personal effects were with our train, but he was not. On learning the news from Salisbury, it was decided to move further South, and we left Charlotte with Abbeville as our objective point. Various stops were made on the journey, and payments were made to commissary and other officers in sums varying from \$2,000 to \$40,000, informal vouchers being given of necessity, but all

having sufficient authority to relieve me of responsibility. These payments were made for the subsistence and pay of soldiers, and for forage, and were so used, as the officers disbursing them have already shown, and it speaks well for the morals of a beaten and dispirited army that no raid was ever attempted on this train from our own troops during its long journey, although the contents were well known all along the line, and the amount much exaggerated. Owing to the great weight of silver which we carried it was reported, and generally believed, that we had from \$2,000,000 to \$10,000,000.

"At some point on the road, not remembered now, a wagon train was required, and we pursued our journey by turnpike until we again connected with the railroad, and by it reached Abbeville, being several days in advance of the President and his party. The specie we left loaded on the cars, with a guard of marines and naval Cadets, under Lieut. Parker, of the Navy, strengthened by the Treasury clerks. Our intention was to run back if threatened by the Federal cavalry, who were but a few miles distant at Pendleton. On the arrival of the Presidential party a Cabinet meeting was held and the Hon. John H. Reagan was appointed Acting Secretary of the Treasury. By him I was relieved of my onerous charge, the expressed intention being to go to Washington, Ga., and the Savannah river, and to pay the specie out to soldiers on their way home, without any formality other than to estimate the number that they would be likely to see before the final breaking up of the party and to pay accordingly. Officers and men were to share alike. That this was done with all, except the amount surrendered to or captured by the Federal troops is amply proved by numerous letters which I have seen published. Of the amount realized by the United States Government I have no personal knowledge. It was probably all of the silver bricks and uncoined gold, articles that could not well be paid away. The specie was transferred at Abbeville to a wagon train, late at night, and started under a cavalry guard. Although I have no records of the trip by me, I can say that the amount with which we started was less than \$600,000. The bulk and weight

of it was in Mexican dollars packed in kegs about the size of those used for nails. The gold was chiefly in double eagles, in sacks of \$5,000 each, and packed in regular coin boxes, \$25,000 to a box. In addition to these we had some silver bricks, gold ingots and nuggets, and a lot of copper cents. The silver dollars were mostly if not entirely from the New Orleans banks, and had been in the Treasury since 1861.

"I had belts made at Abbeville, thinking that the Presidential party would separate there, and that they ought to be provided with some means of carrying a little coin in case they should reach a foreign port. Many of your readers will be surprised to learn how little gold a man can carry on his person for a lengthened time. Three thousand dollars (about 15 pounds) will be a heavy load for a vigorous man after two or three days. It seems that the President would not take a dollar for his personal use, and I do not know that any of his immediate party received a share of it. The sole idea of all the high civil officers and the military commanders, so far as I know (and I had good opportunities for learning their sentiments), was to make this money go as far as possible in enabling the soldiers to reach their homes without sufferings, and without causing distress to others. You will remember that it has been a matter of surprise that so many thousands of poor and destitute men reached their homes in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas without general robbery of the helpless inhabitants. It was in part owing to the morale of the men, but in great measure to the judicious disbursement of a fund which a highly honorable man is accused of appropriating.

St. Louis, Mo., Monday, December 26, 1881."

Several other statements have been made concerning the disposition of the Confederate treasure, but as they agree substantially with those given, they are not here repeated. A most interesting and circumstantial account of the movements of the treasure is given in *Recollections of a Naval Officer* by Capt. William H. Parker, who had charge of the military escort provided for the protection of the treasure, and another

similar statement appears in the *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. X., pp. 137-141, written by John F. Wheless, who was the Paymaster of the Confederate States Navy, accompanying the escort under Captain Parker. A very condensed statement of these two accounts has been given above.

Interesting sidelights are also thrown upon the subject by Miss E. F. Andrews in her charming *War Time Journal of a Georgia Girl*, and by Captain Jas. Morris Morgan in *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer*.

Of the statements given, that of Captain Clark is by far the most trustworthy, for the reason that he was the Acting Treasurer at the time, and through his official hands all receipts and disbursements passed. Besides, his statement is based not only upon memory, but upon vouchers and written records of unquestioned reliability. Let us then make a brief analysis of his statement:

ANALYSIS OF STATEMENT OF CAPTAIN M. H. CLARK

Amount of gold and Silver Coin and silver bullion in train when it left		
Danville -----		\$327,022.90
Paid out to soldiers at Greensboro--		39,000.00
		<hr/>
Turned over to Captain Clark---		\$288,022.90
Paid to Maj. White to pay troops (specie) -----	\$108,322.90	
Paid to Maj. Moses to feed soldiers (silver bullion) -----	40,000.00	
Paid to trusted officers of the navy (gold coin and gold bullion)-----	86,000.00	
Paid four men near Sandersville (gold) -----	6,000.00	
Paid four men near Sandersville (silver) -----	40.00	
Paid Captain Campbell-----	300.00	
Paid Mr. Reagan near Sandersville--	3,500.00	244,162.90
		<hr/>
Unaccounted for -----		\$ 43,860.00

In the statement of Captain Clark no mention is made of the money necessary to meet the expenses of the trip from Richmond to Washington, Ga., nor of the disbursement of \$1,500 made to Mr. Wheless at Washington to pay off the escort under Captain Parker, nor of the \$300 paid by Mr. Wheless to Lieutenant Bradford noted above. When we consider the food supplies, horses, wagons, and various other transportation necessities, these expenses must have been considerable, for such a train and its escort. It is probable, therefore, that most of the sum unaccounted for in the statement was thus expended. This is strongly indicated in the statement of Mr. Philbrook in the New York Times given above.

Neither does the above statement of Captain Clark include the Liverpool acceptances mentioned by Mr. Reagan, amounting to about sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds sterling. These were captured with Mr. Reagan when he was prisoner. Neither does it include a large amount of worthless Confederate bonds and currency which were burned as stated by Captain Clark.

Taking up the several disbursements mentioned by Captain Clark, we find that the statement that \$39,000 was paid to the soldiers of General Johnston's Army at Greensboro, N. C., is corroborated by General Johnston himself in the interview in the Philadelphia Press on December 18, 1881, and by several other reliable statements.

In an interview with General Beauregard in the New Orleans Picayune he states that his share of this distribution was \$1.15.

Of the \$108,322.90 paid to the troops near the Savannah river, General G. G. Dibrell, who had charge of these troops says: "By direction of Gen. Breckinridge, muster rolls of all troops present were made out. This money for the troops, upward of \$108,000, was turned over to Maj. E. C. White, my division quartermaster (he being the senior quartermaster present), and the amount due each soldier, \$26.25, was paid through the regimental quartermaster on each muster roll.

Each officer and soldier, including infantry and cavalry, as well as Gen. John C. Breckinridge, received just the same amount, \$26.25." See Avery's *History of Georgia*, p. 325.

The \$40,000 in silver bullion paid to Maj. Moses was for the purpose of feeding the returning Confederate soldiers. \$10,000 of this sum was turned over to the Quartermaster Department in charge of Felix R. Alexander, Assistant Quartermaster under Gen. Alexander R. Lawton, the Confederate Quartermaster General. The remaining \$30,000 was carried to Augusta by Maj. Moses under great difficulties and by him turned over to Gen. Molineux, the Federal officer then in charge at Augusta, upon his promise to feed the returning soldiers and see that the sick in the hospitals were cared for. The bullion was weighed and turned out in excess fully \$5,000. It was turned over by Gen Molineux to one Adams of Massachusetts, then acting provost marshal of Augusta. It is probable that very little if any part of the funds carried to Augusta was ever used to feed Confederate soldiers. See Avery's *History of Georgia*, pp. 326-327.

Concerning the sums paid to Mr. Reagan, Captain Campbell and the four men near Sandersville, Captain Clark states that all of this was taken by the Federal troops when Mr. Davis and his party were captured, except the \$1,500 paid to Colonel Lubbock. This brave officer after a stout resistance and great risk retained his money, upon which the party subsisted during their long imprisonment at Fort Delaware.

Of the \$86,000 in gold coin and gold bullion paid by Captain Clark to a "trusted officer of the Navy" the writer has as yet but little positive information. This part of the fund was intended by Mr. Davis and his cabinet to be transported out of the country, and to be used ultimately in carrying on the war beyond the Mississippi. It probably fell into the hands of the Federal troops, who were scouring the country in every direction.

Avery in his *History of Georgia* says: "Just after the departure of General Breckinridge from Washington, with a body of cavalry, a cavalryman rode back in a gallop and threw

a bag of gold coin over the fence around Gen. Toombs' residence, and then rapidly rode away. No explanation was given of this liberal act, no instructions accompanied the money, and there was no clew ever obtained as to the motive or purpose of the soldier. The bag contained \$5,000 in gold currency. Gen. Toombs at the time was in great stress for money, and was borrowing gold for his contemplated flight out of the country, but he swore with a round oath he would not touch a dollar of this money, so strangely and unexpectedly showered upon him. The bag was turned over to Capt. Abrahams, a Federal commissary, for the purchase of flour and other provisions for the returning Confederate soldiers, and Major Moses states that his son aided in this disposition of the fund."

There is no evidence that any of the Confederate funds were misappropriated by any of its officials. The main idea of those in charge of the funds was, first to provide for the Confederate soldiers who were returning through the country, mostly on foot, to their homes, and second to transport what was left to a place of safety where it might still be used to reanimate a hopeless cause.

In the tragic scenes that marked the closing days of the Confederacy, Mr. Davis stands in a clear light. No taint of sordid greed or gain clings to his record. Having exhausted every material resource in the struggle of his country with overwhelming odds, he stood before his captors, as the curtain went down, a brave, heroic figure, but penniless. Well might he have said,

"My robe and my integrity to Heaven
Is all I dare now call my own."